[R372, A]

824 795 778 ficial. Meeting officials fan it into the atmosphere and "rub" themselves in the smoke to obtain power or purification. This has a connection with traditional Washo ritual, but the relationship is unclear and the aboriginal practices obscure. One group of Washo, which was assigned a special place in the large camp circle formed during the pine-nut dances held at Double Springs Flats in the late nineteenth century, is said to have special rights in connection with cutting cedar. Modern informants do not have a clear picture of what the rights were or what the customs surrounding cedar were. One informant did say that if the cedar "bunch" found anyone else with cedar they would say "you aren't supposed to have that" and would make fun of them. She could offer no further details or explanations.

SORCERY AND WITCHCRAFT
(2562-2564)

754 756 778 [172] There is no real distinction in the Washo mind between a doctor and a sorcerer or witch. Particularly powerful doctors were able to kill their enemies. One of the most feared bits of paraphernalia was an obsidian point found by a doctor. These large points were not made by Washo and are apparently remnants of some previous cultural occupation in the area. If a Washo finds one point up he carefully knocks it over with a long stick before touching it. These points are called mankillers, but I was unable to learn exactly how they were used. They are still viewed with a certain amount of awe, and the finding of a large point in a sandpit in Smith Valley was known in Woodfords, fifty miles away.

754 [484] [361] [172] Sorcery was used to explain the abandonment of an ancient campsite at Dangberg's Hot Springs. This site is a trove of grinding stones, points, and other Washo artifacts. Formerly there were numerous skeletons in the area, according to both Indian and white informants. However, the site has not been occupied in historic times because of the following incident.

[539] "One winter there was a lot of Washos camped around the hot springs. My old aunt was camped there. There was this northern Washo [from Sierra Valley] came into the camp. Nobody know'd him and nobody would feed him. But my old aunt fed him. But he was mad at them people so he went to Markleville and made a lot of medicine. [Why he went to Markleville is unclear. This is the site of another hot springs, a fact which may figure in the magic used.] After he made medicine for a while he kind of spit on his fingers and pointed at Dangberg Hot Springs. Right where he pointed all the grass got brown; you can still see that line of brown if you know where to look, and a lot of Indians died. Nobody ever went back there. My old aunt she didn't die."

[731] Only one Washo disputed this story. She, a very progressive old woman and sometime Christian, attributed the deaths to an epidemic and "didn't think" the doctor was responsible.

754 Witchcraft and sorcery among the present-day Washo is a difficult subject to investigate. Even among themselves it is treated with extreme indirection and veiled hints. In discussing the problem with d'Azevedo I found that we were in agreement that a number of

[P.399, A]

224 222 789 Hunting, far more than gathering, appears to have been the focus of much ritual activity. This suggests that for the Washo the importance of ritual may have increased in proportion to the element of chance inherent in the activity undertaken. Gathering was a survey, assuming of course that there was a harvest to gather. With the wide variety of plants available within the Washo territory during the spring, summer, and fall it seems highly unlikely that the failure of one species of plant created a serious problem. This, of course, was not true of the pine nut. A failure of the pine-nut crop was a harbinger of a starvation winter. The gathering of pine nuts, in contrast to the gathering of other plants, was the subject of a great deal of ritual and, to some degree, of ceremonialism uncommon to most Washo gathering activities. This will be dealt with later in the paper.

[731]

HUNTING

224 Deer (1-37) --Deer were hunted in a number of ways. Barrett reports, and old informants confirm, that hunting parties of as many as thirty or forty men were formed in the old days to go to the western slope of the Sierra in pursuit of deer. The large number may have been necessitated by the possibility of meeting hostile Miwok or Maidu. My own informants claimed that these large parties often set fire to the forest to drive the deer into the open, and that the large number of men was needed to cover the escape routes.

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More common, apparently, were small groups of five or six men, usually relatives, who went into the deer country together. Their technique was to drive along a single deer run toward one of their number who was considered the best shot. This method was very common after the introduction of firearms, particularly repeating firearms.

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Finally, any Washo man might hunt singly. Often groups of five or six men went hunting together but each did his own stalking.

[796] Whatever the technique, hunting magic was an individual affair which did not require any ceremonial activities.

[824] [825] A single hunter, before the days of firearms, often stalked in the antlers and hide of a deer. Washo were often superstitious about using the real antlers and made artificial sets from manzanita branches. This fear of using real antlers appears related to the treatment which was accorded to the bones of deer. These, once the meat had been completely stripped off, were submerged in a stream to prevent their being eaten by dogs or wild animals. Perhaps the best account of the magic involved in stalking is the following by an aged informant, reputed to have "hunting medicine."

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> "We never had no poison arrow for bear or deer but had something just as good. We took red paint and mixed it with marrow from a deer leg and rubbed it on the shaft and point of the arrow. Arrowheads for war were little but those for big game like deer or bear were pretty big."

Minden around 1895.

6. (7) Susie Dick, her husband, son (Sammy Dick), brother, sister, and sister's husband and daughter. This is possible the same galis dangal and family seen in Plate V. 592 596

Truckee around 1900. This includes all the Indian residents of the area at that time.

7. (13) Captain Pete, his wife, mother (Minnie Zidoa), two sisters and two brothers (George and Little Jake), son (Hank Pete today, but called Will Morris at that time.), daughter and her husband (George Howard) and daughter (Lillian Hopper). One of Captain Pete's brothers (George) had a wife (Maggie) and a boy (Zenito). Little Jake was a "cousin-brother" to Hank Pete. Captain Pete's two sisters washed dishes at the Truckee Hotel. One of the sisters died from some dope called y¢nshi that had been given to her by a Chinese cook. [464] [165]

8. (4) Susie Howard and her two boys (Pete Howard and John Howard). A widow with no children who was "just a good friend" to Susie also lived with her.

9. (3) Tom Nanga ("pretend" or "comedian"), his wife (Maggie Nanga), and her sister (Susie). Tom did not marry his wife's sister.

10. (6) Truckee Dick (D¢b¢mu sh¢¢sh¦can count"), his wife (Minnie), and their four boys: S¢bil ("walks zig-zag"), W¢g¢l (sounds made as a child when he was asking for m¢g¢l which means "mixed up", referring to the mixture of snow and pinenuts), S¢l¢bitok ("left handed little boy"), and Deodama l¢we ¢s ("does not behave or obey parents").

11. (6) See below.

12. (6) This was an extremely unusual case where two galis dangal were built right next to each other. The two galis dangal were located on the opposite side (south) of the Truckee River from those previously mentioned and were inhabited by about 12 "rough" Washo Indians. Both of these galis dangal burned down when all of the occupants were in town and they then moved to Reno. [361] [731]

13. (6) Jack Pash (had a Maidu father and a Washo mother) had two galis dangal about 100 feet apart. He married one woman who was barren of children. She asked him to marry one of her sisters so that he could have some children. He married both of her sisters and had three sons (Jack, Shiput, and Mat) by the middle sister and a daughter by the youngest sister (Annie). Jack Pash, the oldest and middle sister, and the middle sister's three sons lived in one of the galis dangal. [361] [595]

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involved in production was partially lost in distribution because of the communal pooling for use purposes of food, clothing, and shelter. That pooling was not complete is evidenced in the fact that all products made by a deceased person were destroyed. Also clothing and implements were personal belongings and individually owned to a considerable degree.

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The older people were the major authority figures as long as they were economically influential. With skill and experience they led their households and communities in every phase of life. However, older people who became an extreme burden on the household because of blindness or other disabilities were deserted and left to die. There are indications that this desertion was met with resignation on the part of the old person and with grief by the family, but was deemed inevitable. A corollary to this was the belief that persons acquired often dangerous supernatural powers with age (cf., Freed and Freed n.d.). Thus, well intentioned gifts from grandparents to grandchildren may be inadvertently harmful.

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Generally everyone ate at the same time with the major meal often in the late afternoon. Producing men ate the most and producing women came next. Non-producing old people and children were resented for their supposedly great appetites and in practice probably ate much less than the others. Old people and children were often given the boiling stones and stirring sticks to lick off the cooked meal. Dangberg (n.d., 30) indicates that children were often fed rabbit brains, which adults did not prefer. Mothers prechewed solid foods for infants.

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Familial sharing was extended beyond the household primarily through hospitality to visitors. In times of hunger whole households without food might move in with relatives or even unrelated neighbors. In this case private property such as cooking utensils were not pooled, but the food was shared. The two groups living together would cook separately. The guests would be expected to gather wood, bring in water, go hunting, and make what contribution they could.

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There were starvation (bisha basha) times, particularly in the late winter, when the household would hide its food, even from relatives. Hank Pete said he heard of starving people who would tear apart their rabbit skin robes to chew the fat off the hides and divide a chipmunk between a whole family. It is said that people could go for ten to fifteen days without eating. Women would give their portions to the men and children because it was believed the women could go longer without eating. A different inventory of foods was used that would never be eaten in ordinary times.